/174 cont./

624 [177] In addition to the cabildo, there was introduced in Spanish colonial times, as the trusted agent of the missions, the post of capitan, who was not subordinate to the secular authorities and often was not democratically elected, but appointed by the church for life. Appointed to this office, if possible, are the members of an old, influential family, in which a son or nephew then succeeds the capitan in office, so that in practice this position was often hereditary within a family. The capitan in Calderas, who died February 18, 1953 and who had held this office for about 20 years, was named Manuel José Guagáz. His predecessor was his father, Bruno Guagáz. And though the gobernador told me that the family of the Guagáz were feeble-minded and no longer fit for any work, he admitted that it was probable that the successor of the old capitan would nevertheless be another Guagáz.

623 624 The deceased capitan was ill and weak during the last years of his life, and thus it came about that the gobernador played the leading role in the cabildo. The weekly council meetings were also held in his house. According to conditions in other villages, however, the capitan in practice not only presides in the cabildo, but his voice also has somewhat more weight. At least, he is able to prevent a bridge from being built, for example, through his veto. /175/ True, he cannot accomplish it or even order it by himself, against the will of the cabildo.

623 651 Another functionary, who is likewise appointed by the missions for life, is the síndico, who fixes the ecclesiastical tax assessments and administers the funds.

623 293 [666] The election of the cabildo takes place every year on the first of December. On the following January first, the elected cabildo must appear before the administrative authorities of the municipio /see the glossary, p. 249/, where each member is given his staff of office and is sworn in for his duties. The staffs of office (kampo) belong to the village and are handed on from year to year. They are round in diameter, about 80 to 100 centimeters long and three to five centimeters thick, and carved out of the black, hard wood of the chonta palm. The tips of the sticks are fitted with a brass or iron cap for their protection. The handle is somewhat thinner than the rest of the stick and enlarged at the end to form a knob which is covered with silver leaf. Below the

/175 cont./
623 293 handle an additional crescent-shaped piece of silver leaf is applied.

In former years, on the first day of the new year, a ceremony for the old as well as for the newly elected cabildo took place on the not easily accessible lagoon of Juan Tama, the Páramo de Moras, and lasted for several days. It started with chicha drinking under the leadership of a shaman, after which the culture hero, Juan Tama, and the spirits of the ancestors (?) were asked by the shaman for advice and assistance in the coming year. A dance and a bath in the lagoon concluded the ceremony (Bürg, pp. 340 f.). According to my information, this gathering at the lagoon has not been carried out for several years. The reason given is that for several years in succession it has rained around New Year's time. After that the shamans announced that with this sign Juan Tama renounced any further performances of the ceremony on his lagoon.

623 666 641 The election of the cabildo is done by the men of the entire village. The candidates must be citizens of the given village, that is to say, they must own land there. A stranger could never hold office in a Paez village. The candidates may not propose themselves, but must be nominated by the assembly or by the old cabildo. Anyone who is elected for an office by the village assembly for the first time may not refuse, but must accept it. Only reelection, which is possible up to five or ten years in succession, is voluntary. The wealth or possessions of the candidates do not play any role. The present gobernador, Marcelo Muse, is /176/ about 30 years old. Two children, a son about six years old and a four-year-old daughter, are living; four of his children died. In the way of material possessions he owns five horses and two pigs, but no cows and no sheep. Ten years ago he was fiscal for a year. In the general opinion of the Paez the gobernador should not be too young or too old. The best age is between 30 and 50 years. The remaining posts, which to a large extent consist of messenger services, are generally held by younger, unmarried people, although they may also be filled by married men up to 50 years of age. In general the gobernador chooses people who are loyal to him and who must also carry out the punishments for him, for a gobernador

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871 them remain."
829

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González --"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

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civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

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list presented by a council composed of former governors, the captain, and the síndico. The meeting may object to the list, but generally accepts it. On the following January 1, the cabildo-elect must appear at the office of the municipal mayor to receive the staffs, their insignia of office, and to assume their duties and responsibilities. The offices are: Governor and alternate, commissioner, two mayors (alcaldes), two constables (alguaciles), and three prosecutors (fiscales), one of whom is a young man assigned to learn the ways of government. The mayors, constables, and prosecutors are something like bosses or policemen, and execute orders issued by the Governor or by the captain or the municipal authorities to a community through the Governor.

Property.—The Indians today do not own any real property in the usual sense. The land assigned to an entire community is allotted to each adult for his use when he becomes a macanero, that is, capable of giving one day's work each year for the collective planting for the benefit of the saint and as many days as may be required by the cabildo for the repair of roads, bridges, etc., or for work in the village. The right to the use of the land may pass to the heirs, wife and children, in the absence of which it reverts to the community or the cabildo.

The house was formerly typical personal or movable property, which could be easily abandoned, dismantled, or destroyed. The same holds today for fragile cane dwellings. There are few houses so solidly built that they constitute real or immovable property. Other personal property, such as utensils, clothes, weapons, adornments, and jewels, was formerly buried with the owner. These things and livestock, planted fields, and crops are now inherited by the members of the deceased's family. In general, Colombian law is being implanted by the judges and municipal mayors, although the cabildo judges some minor offenses and punishes the offenders by whipping, imprisonment, or stocks (cepo), a form of torment retained from Colonial times.

Although the Indians' communities have in most cases titles of limits of their lands dating from Colonial times, there are still litigations on boundaries. An interesting case is the struggle of the Indians to dislodge a settlement of Negroes from the old salt works in Ambostá, where they were abandoned many years ago by a rich Popayán family who took them there to work the mines. The female Indian chief (cacica) of this territory allowed the Negroes to live on a hill, called "the hill of the fifteen Negroes." The Negroes are not organized under a cabildo, but have a chief who represents them. They all contribute to a special religious feast in the municipio, and provide means to continue the suit for the possession of the hill against the Indians.